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## BOSTON UNIVERSITY

Graduate School

## THESIS

The Personality of Francis Bacon, as Revealed in the Essays

Submitted by

Mary Agatha Driscoll (A.B., Radcliffe, 1904)

In partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

1928

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# THE PERSONALITY OF FRANCIS BACON AS REVEALED IN THE ESSAYS

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## THE PERSONALITY OF FRANCIS BACON AS REVEALED IN THE ESSAYS

## Introduction

The title of this paper assumes that a man's personality is disclosed in his writing. Such an assumption is, of course, open to challenge. The objections, too, are reasonable. A writer doubtless withholds many a thought. Time obliterates circumstances helpful to just interpretation. The author may be of an analytical, neutral nature. The reader's own limitations may blind him. Nevertheless, in spite of these hindrances, one who has read and reread an author feels that he knows him, his worldly circumstances, his pursuits, the content of his brain, the quality of his heart. At any rate, much of the life of Francis Bacon is disclosed in the "Essays." The "Essays" are, however, such a small part of Bacon's writings, that the facts of his life are disclosed in a limited way, like marble chips thrown off in the making of a statue. Consequently the reader needs a background of collateral reading if he would see the great statue Bacon. Indeed the Essays only hint at what he considered the great object of his life, philosophy, and give many glimpses of his professional life. His character, however, is revealed at every turn.

#### Preliminaries

Bacon published three editions of his "Essays": the first, ten in number, in 1597; the second, forty in number, in 1612;

the third, fifty in number, in 1625. In 1597, the date of the first edition, Bacon was thirty-six years old, and, though in the Preface he says of the essays, "as they passed long ago from my pen," he was during the writing of them a mature person, and the seriousness of his mind is shown both in the Preface and in the essays. In the Preface he sets forth a didactic purpose:

"I have myself played the inquisitor and find nothing to my understanding in them contrary or infectious to the state of religion or manners, but rather, as I suppose, medicinable."

These first essays also show his extensive observation and his personal interests. Following, the titles are placed side by side with the subject treated, except where the title is itself explanatory.

- 1. Study including reading
- 2. Discourse effective speech
- 3. Ceremonies and Respects manners
- 4. Followers and Friends followers as dependent upon the great
- 5. Suitors law
- 6. Expense spending of money
- 7. Regiment of Health care of health
- 8. Honour and Reputation how these are to be gained
- 9. Faction as affecting government
  - 10. Negociating managing a piece of business successfully

to show that the man who wrote was a lawyer, a member of Elizabeth's court as Queen's Counsel, a member of Parliament and an effective speaker there, a person interested in "getting on"

other of the speak and notice and publication to the brain and the

in the world. The chief love of his heart, however, he considered his "studies," "contemplations," words which have an interesting repetition in the first two prefaces.

A man is what he is by native endowment and by the circumstances of his life, and the ordinary person has only to read these essays to realize the world of Francis Bacon and to comprehend the differences between that world and his own. In the preface to the third edition Bacon predicted his Essays might "last as long as books last." So they have lasted, because the human nature he observed so accurately and depicted so faithfully does not change. But ideas change, and it is impossible to understand Francis Bacon apart from the world he lived in. We can glimpse that world if we consider through the essays, the world of the audience he evidently was writing for. It was a world of "great place," a world in which a king is "a mortal god on earth," a world in which the young men should "travel under some tutor or grave servants and make acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors." It was a world of expense, for tune, riches. It was a world interested in "the true greatness of kingdoms and estates" and in the establishment of plantations. In this world he wrote for an audience who had observed somewhat, who had time for reflection, who had an interest in the abstract as well as in the concrete, who had a willingness to think. In other words Bacon's intended readers were aristocrats like himself, were the men by whom he was surrounded, the rulers and courtiers of England, its judicature, its statesmen, its wealthy, and its thinkers. It was politically and commercially an ambitious world, and Bacon,

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"Mast us house as beeks that." So they have lacros, coursens the word of the control of the country, and it is in the control of th immersed in its public life, was as worldly and ambitious as itself.

Like the nation, he increased in splendor until he had become Lord

Keeper of the Great Seal, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Alban.

## Rhetorical Matters

To some extent at least, rhetorical methods, as well as subject matter, help to reveal an author. Bacon's presentation of his material recalls his law practise. He writes like a lawyer to whom a new case of law has been referred, a lawyer who does not need to concern himself with plaintiff or defendant, but may regard the legal matter from all angles. Now he sets forth one consideration, now he balances that with another, and arrives at no conclusion or what the reader will. It reminds one of Addison on "Witchcraft." "I believe in general that there is and has been such a thing as witchcraft; but at the same time can give no credit to any particular instance of it." Frequently, however, Bacon will not commit himself even so far: "The advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three" -- "There be also three disadvantages to set it even." Balancing of ideas, impartial observation, statement of all phases are characteristic of nearly all the essays. What does such a method imply in regard to the author? A man who sees all sides sees with his mind: his heart is left undisturbed. To discern this one has only to contrast Bacon's statement on beauty--"For the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtue shine and vices blush" ("Of Simulation and Dissimulation" insurant to the transmitted in the south of sold and sold to the transmit that the sold transmit to the sold in the sold transmit the sold transmit the sold transmit transmit the sold transmit transmit the sold transmit transmit to the sold transmit transmit transmit to the sold transmit tr

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"Of Beauty") with the exclamation of any poet on the subject, -with that of Keats, "Beauty is truth, truth beauty," that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know." or that of Edna
St. Vincent Millay--

"Fortunate they

Who, though once only and then but far away,
Have heard her massive sandal set on stone."

The Essays are not easy to read. How often have I seen quoted with approval Dugald Steward's statement: "It (the small volume of Essays) may be read from beginning to end in a few hours, and yet, after the twentieth perusal, one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before." While concurring in the last half of the statement, I do not believe that anybody ever read the Essays through from beginning to end unless forced to do so, and if forced, certainly not in a few hours. One reads a few now and again. One remembers something and wishes to verify it. For various reasons, one goes again and again to the Essays, but reading them through is a mental task too difficult for this somewhat mentally-lazy age.

The first thing that makes reading difficult is lack of continuity, continuity within a single essay. The ideas are thrown together. Bacon himself refers to his Essays as "brief notes," "fragments of my conceits." They are set down without special order, often without sequence and with few of the expository helps to which the modern reader is accustomed.

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A second characteristic which operates against a rapid reading is presented in the meaning of the words, in Bacon's habit of using the same word in an essay with different meanings or using a word in a sense in which the reader never thought of it. Mr. West calls attention to the various senses in which the words beauty and envy are used in the essays with those titles. There are, besides, archaic words, and words the meaning of which has changed with time.

But the chief reason why a rapid reading is impossible is the compactness of the style. Bacon wrote "not to be swallowed," but to be "chewed," and in many cases a thorough chewing is necessary for digestion. The subjects are broad, the statements brief.

Essays with such broad subjects as "Truth," "Death," and "Parents and Children" comprise less than a hundred lines, but these lines are so condensed in meaning, so packed with information, so informed by reflection and reading that the reader has to stop to ponder, to question, to make connections, to summarize.

That, in spite of difficulties, these Essays continued to be read merely shows that they possess some human appeal, that in Bacon's own words, "they come home to men's business and bosoms."

The terseness mentioned above, though it make reading difficult, has also something of merit. Treasure is more convenient in small bulk, and Bacon is like the millionaire who gives away his wealth in checks. The wealth seems inexhaustible, the outpourings of one of the keenest observers and most tireless intellects among men.

Because Bacon referred to his essays as "brief notes,"

"fragments," too many critics have taken it for granted that all

methodical arrangement is lacking. With Dean Church's statement--

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"There is no art, no style, almost, except in a few--the political ones -- no order -- I cannot agree. Bacon was concerned with order all his life, in the law, in the government, and granting him his choice of short discourses, one must also admit art, style, and order. He began with a striking statement -- "Revenge is a kind of wild justice," "The joys of parents are secret, (I wonder if this is still true) and so are their griefs and fears," "He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune." He proceeds without digression, overlapping, or repetition, and it would be difficult to show that a different order would be more unified, coherent, or emphatic. Though, except in the political essays, a method of treatment is not outlined at the beginning, often such an outlining comes within the essay. In "Of Envy" is such an example: "But leaving these curiosities, (though not unworthy to be brought on in fit place) we will handle what persons are apt to envy others; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves, and, what is the difference between public and private envy." Nor are transitional phrases such as the one beginning the above quotation uncommon. He uses such words as "first," "again," "lastly," "therefore." "Of Counsel" and "Of Usury" offer examples. Nor can one read the final sentences without being aware that Bacon had his eye on effectiveness -- "Men's behavior should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion." "A man's nature runs either to herbes or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one and destroy the other." In everything I find Bacon's eye on his reputation, fame a very vital aspiration, and arrangement, style, art would not be neglected by one who so wanted his work to live that he had a Latin translation made of it.



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The rich ornamentation of his writing attests his learning and illustrates his art. His Essays abound in allusions, Biblical, mythological, philosophical, historical, and in quotations. For example, his first essay, "Of Truth" is typical. It contains a quotation from the Bible, an allusion to ancient philosophers, an allusion to the poets, a quotation from one of the church fathers, another allusion to the Bible, a quotation from a poet, and a quotation from Montaigne. West remarks, "Of such allusions (historical and mythological) the number contained in the whole series of Essays exceeds three hundred. In the 19th Essay (Of Empire) there are forty; in the 27th (Of Friendship) there are close upon thirty." Latin quotations are disconcertingly frequent and all periods of history furnish corroboration of an idea or an illustration of an idea. Macaulay pays tribute to the "vast variety of illustrations and allusions which were generally happy and apposite."

But Bacon does not rely upon others for all his effects. His own imagination couches the thought in its most effective form. To quote Macaulay again, "In wit, if by wit be meant the power of perceiving analogies between things which appear to have nothing in common, he never had an equal." And Gosse says, "It was an age of metaphors and similes, and Bacon's are more numerous and striking than those of any prose contemporary.

No less than by the above means is Bacon's work made effective by the artistic device of balance and contrast. Though this device is sometimes found in the essay as a whole, it is extremely common in the sentence. It aids materially in making quotable so many of his ideas.



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The following quotation illustrates all of the above points, and shows conclusively that Bacon was consciously artistic in his writing, with an ear for sound and an eye for design.

"To pass from theological and philosophical truth to the truth of civil business: it will be acknowledged even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honor of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it: for these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent, which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious; and therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace and such an odious charge, 'If it be well weighted, to say that a man lieth is as much as to say that he is brave towards God, and a coward towards men; for a lie faces God, and shrinks from man. Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men: it being foretold that when 'Christ cometh' he shall not 'find faith upon earth. ""

Reflections from Bacon's Public Life

Leaving these rhetorical matters, I shall endeavor to give some estimate of Bacon through the ideas expressed in the essays. Since these ideas are fragmentary it is necessary to ally them with some background of fact. I shall begin with his personality



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as expressed in his public life and proceed to his more intimate, personal attitudes. Bacon's longest public service was in the law.

Bacon was scarcely sixteen when he was admitted to the society of "Ancients" of Gray's Inn, and, except during his youthful travels in France, he made the Inn his abode for over thirty years. However, up to the time he was made Queen's Counsel, he never, according to Mr. Spedding, had any private practice. "His opponents said that 'he had never entered the place of battle.' Whether this was because he could not find clients or because he did not seek them, I cannot say. It is certain that his ambition never pointed to the life of a private lawyer as his fit vocation, and that as often as he began to despair of employment in the service of the crown, he began likewise to think of giving up his profession."

Nor, apparently, did he feel the law congenial. It was merely a bread-and-butter preliminary to his chosen field. We have his own words: "Many errors I do willingly acknowledge, and amongst the rest this great one that led the rest; that knowing myself by inward calling to be better fitted to hold a book than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes for which I was somewhat unfit by nature, and more unfit by preoccupation of mind."

Upon the kind of judge Bacon was rages most of the controversy concerning his character. In regard to some aspects there is favorable unanimity. Numerous writers testify to his industry. To represent them, one quotation, from Dr. Caird, in "University Addresses," will suffice. "He was a hard-working lawyer, first working his way by incessant study and application into practice, then acting as professional adviser to the crown, and finally,

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as Keeper of the Seals and Lord Chancellor, getting through an amount of business, and with an exactness and despatch which was in his day unprecedented."

Lord Campbell informs us of the nature of his work. "He wrote valuable treatises to explain and improve the laws of England, he was eager to assist in digesting them, and he induced the King to appoint reporters with adequate salaries, who should authoritatively print such decisions of the courts, and such only, as would be useful." Dixon also gives a picture of him as a reformer: "Reform of the law, and of the courts of law, has been his theme for thirty years. When he got the Seals, his very first speech in Chancery proposed a scheme for removing abuses in fees and suits." His rules for conducting business were in themselves the best of reform bills. More than all he has introduced into that slow and despotic court the substantial amendments of patience, courtesy, and speed. Not a cause in the lists unheard."

Beyond this point, there is the bitterest controversy.

Lord Campbell accuses Bacon of tampering with the judges and extracting confession, himself being present, "before torture, between torture, and after torture," to convict an old man named Peacham of treason. Macaulay, who also presents the same story, further accuses Bacon of introducing the evil of tampering with judges in capital cases, and, in having Peacham tortured, of using an unusual procedure. Dixon, on the contrary, devotes sixteen pages, to disproving the above charges, insisting that Bacon had no power and was acting under the orders of the Privy Council, of which he was not a member; that Bacon did not approve

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of such torture; and that "the trials of Essex and Sanquhair are almost the sole causes in which Bacon took part that ended in the loss of life." Then, there is the quarrel as to the extent of Bacon's guilt in taking bribes, the charge on which he was tried and convicted.

How far, judging by the Essays alone, are the praises justified, and what bearing do the Essays have on the question of Bacon's legal guilt? In the edition of 1612 appeared "Judicature." This and "Of a King" are the only essays that deal directly with the law, while the scattered references are few. "Judicature" is an essay of one hundred, sixty-five lines, therefore, twice as long as most of the essays. It has a direct didactic purpose, and offers only one aspect of each idea. It lays down advice for judges, parties that sue, counsel, clerks, and ministers, "the sovereign and estate." It offers the following corroboration of Dixon's praise in regard to "amendments of patience, courtesy. and speed.": "Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice." Courtesy: "There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded." Delay: "There be (saith the Scripture) that turn judgment into wormwood; and surely there be also who turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter and delays make it sour." "Add thereto contentious suits which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts." One of the duties of a judge is "to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech."

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Is there a possibility that the writer of the following should be a cruel judge, going out of the beaten track to inflict torture? "Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences, for there is no worst torture than the torture of laws; especially in cases of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigor, and that they bring not upon people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, 'Pluet super eos laqueos;' for penal laws pressed are a shower of snares upon the people: therefore, let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution. In causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy, and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person." These sentiments were published two years before the trial of Peacham.

Of judges Bacon asserts, "Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue." If he lived up to his own ideals, he could not be other than a merciful, upright judge.

So often does one read of Bacon's attemps to rise in the law that there is a possibility of misinterpreting much of "Of a King." The king "is the life of the law, not only as he is 'lex loquens', but because he animateth the dead letter, making it active toward all his subjects 'praemio et poena.'" "A wise king must do less in altering his laws than he may." The latter statement is explained by Bacon's belief that the king was the head of the government, and the former by the fact that, as Dixon says, judges were "the king's judges; holding their commissions at his pleasure;

restion and proper winters. I the action of the six one leaves, he

bound by their oaths to advise him on points of law." "Judicature" contains the following: "It is a happy thing in a state when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again, when judges do often consult with the king and state."

But the reader of the Essays feels that whatever changes in laws Bacon might desire would be reforms concerning law procedure, moderate and conservative. He never wished to make law and justice harmonious. In fact, law was more important than justice. "Judges ought to remember that their office is 'jus dicere,' and not 'jus dare; to interpret law, and not to make or give law." "Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out."

In justice to Bacon, however, one ought to remember that he regarded the law as a benefit to men. "And let no man weakly conceive that just laws and true policy have any antipathy, for they are like the spirits and sinews, the one moves with the other."
"Judges ought above all to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables,-Salus populi suprema lex."

For government, the second of his great public pursuits,
Bacon had the utmost reverence. It was "the ordinance of God."

It rested upon "four pillars, religion, justice, counsel, and treasure." Reverence for it kept away discords and quarrels.

Its wise control furthered the public weal. Dean Church pays
Bacon this tribute: "It was the life of a man who had high thoughts of the ends and methods of law and government, and with whom the general and public good was regarded as the standard by which the use of public power was to be measured."

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From the Essays it is clear that Bacon was deeply concerned with the preservation, prosperity, and growth of England. More essays are devoted to the subject than to any other: "Of Faction," "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates," "Of Seditions and Troubles," "Of Nobility," "Of Empire," "Of a King." His concern finds expression in the following from "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates": "In the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes and estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succesion: but these things are not commonly observed, but left to take their chance."

The head of the government was the king. Him Bacon calls
"a mortal god on earth unto whom the living God hath lent his own
name as a great honor." He was the "primum mobile," upon whose
motion all the state moved. "For the motions of the greatest
persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets
under 'primum mobile,' (according to the old opinion), which is,
that every one of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion,
and softly in their own motion." (15) The words, king and
princes, occur so often as to be startling to a twentieth-century
democrat.

Yet Bacon knew of the existence of democracies, and with his unusually penetrating keenness of mind pointed out their internal concord. In "Of Nobility" he says, "For democracies they need it not; for they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to sedition,

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than where there are stirps of nobles; for men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business' sake, as fittest, and not upon flags and pedigree. We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons; for utility is their bond, and not respects. The United Provinces of the low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tribute more cheerful."

But this admiration for a system did not extend to the people.

Bacon had an aristocrat's contempt for them. "There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise." "It (boldness) doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part. Yea, and pervaileth with wise men at weak times. Therefore, we see it has done wonders in popular states, but with senates and princes less." (12)

ment was a member of the House of Commons? Indeed, the discovery of this fact, after reading the Essays, was startling. Yet Bacon entered the House when he was only twenty-four, and sat for five different constituencies. As in all other capacities, he gave valuable service. Ben Johnson's praise of him as a speaker is well known. Macaulay says, "It was his habit to deal with every great question not in small detached portions, but as a whole; he refined little, and his reasonings were those of a capacious rather than a subtle mind."

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In regard to all of Bacon's public service, however, there is controversy, and here again it is found. Dean Church represents him as successfully steering a middle course between throne and commons. "Dealing with the Commons, his policy was to be content with the substance and not to stand on form. Dealing with the King, he was forward to recognize all that James wanted recognized of his kingeraft and his absolute sovereignty." Macaulay puts his services on a lower plane, and charges him with desertion of the people's interests. "Bacon tried to play a very difficult game in politics. He wished to be at once a favorite at court and popular with the multitude. Nor, indeed, did he wholly fail. Once, however, he indulged in a burst of patriotism which cost him a long and bitter remorse, and which he never ventured to repeat."

Macaulay uses the word patriotism in the sense of serving the interests of the people in opposition to those of the king. Bacon would have been aghast at the charge of being unpatriotic. He had thought too much about the national life of England, had studied the states of ancient and his own times closely, and had come to certain conclusions in regard to a beneficial national policy. His policy was the policy of national ambition - greatness of empire was his goal, and the king and his nobles were the most efficient instruments to accomplish it. Though all classes in the state might suffer, the king should be guarded. His remedies for political troubles show this, as do also such statements as the following: "He must be able to give counsel himself, but not rely thereupon: for though happy events justify their

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He has thought too much about the national life of Manhard, had not ten the store of seeing the second of the second life of Manhard, had a contain all select the about the second of a second life of the second life of

counsels, yet it is better that the evil event of good advice be rather imputed to the subject than a sovereign." ("Of a King")
"Lastly, let princes, against all events not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings." How far are Bacon's small views removed from the passion of Burke.
"Freedom, and not servitude, is the cure of anarchy." "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom." ("Conciliation with the Colonies")

I have spoken of Bacon's remedies for political troubles, and now present a few from "Of Seditions." "To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery) is a safe way." "Certainly the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments." "Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at a distance, or, at least, distrust among themselves, is not one of the worst remedies." It is only fair to say that Bacon would by various means remove want and poverty from the state as the chief cause of troubles, but these examples are cited to show that Bacon had no concern for people as human beings, and that such remedies in themselves are weak and unworthy. Somebody praises Bacon for his "powers of adjusting difficulties and harmonizing claims." Such powers are perhaps useful, and I doubt not that they satisfied Bacon, who said, "Certainly to men

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of great judgment bold persons are sport to behold." (12)
But of Bacon's qualities as a statesman, nobody ever spoke with
the enthusiasm of Morley for Burke's "high morality, lofty
emotion," for Burke's "masculine feeling for the two great
political ends of Justice and Freedom." To Bacon Goldsmith
could not have transferred his line on Burke: "Too fond of
the right to pursue the expedient."

It is upon war that Bacon's state rested. On no subject does he speak more fully and plainly, one might almost say enthusiastically. Imitating him, I might call war the "primum mobile" of his political policy. War is essential to the formation, maintainance, and aggrandizement of a great nation. "For empire and greatness it importeth most that a nation profess arms as their principal honor, study, and occupation." "No nation that doth not directly profess arms may look to have greatness fall into their mouths; and, on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed arms but for an age have, notwithstanding, commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms hath grown to decay."

Power attained by war must be retained by war. Bacon was so sure of his thesis that he allowed himself a most unusual repetition of idea, and went into detail in regard to methods. "The principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men."

"All this is but a sheep in a lion's skin except the breed and disposition of the people be warlike." The race being warlike it must be kept so, first, by exercise, - "To a kingdom or estate a just and honorable war is the true exercise," and since fighters cannot also be bankers, taxes must not be excessive, "Neither will it be that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant." "No people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire." War is to influence classes and numbers: gentlemen must not be too numerous, and their servants and attendants must be retained "So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base, and you will bring it to that that not the hundreth poll will be fit for a helmet, especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army, and so there will be a great population and little strength." "Neither is that state to be passed over: I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen, which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms; and therefore, out of all question, the splendor and magnificence, and great retinues, the hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen received into custom, do much conduce unto martial greatness." War is to regulate employment. "It is certain that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require the finger rather than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition." "That which cometh nearest to it (use of slaves) is to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which, for that purpose, are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds, tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts; as smiths, masons, carpenters, etc., not reckoning professed soldiers."

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It would be useless to build such a machine and let it rust inactive. Great empire demands expansion, and a nation cannot be as scrupulous as a school teacher. "Let it suffice that no estate can expect to be great that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming." But the occasion does not have to be just. The justice may be mere camouflage. "Incident to this point is for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war, for there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue) but upon some, at the least, specious grounds of quarrel." Neighboring nations are to be kept at a proper size. "Princes do keep true sentinal that none of their neighbors do overgrow so as they become more able to annoy them than they were. Neither is the opinion of the schoolmen to be received that a war cannot justly be made but for a precedent injury or provocation; for there is no question but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war." (all quotations from 29)

Only once did Bacon utter a word against war, and even then, with a reservation. "But we may not take up the third sword, which is Mohamet's sword, or like unto it; that is, to propogate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state."

Though this greedy, aggressive policy sounds revolting to a twentieth-century ear, it would be manifestly unfair to expect of Bacon a twentieth-century attitude. The world of his time was

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generally embroiled in war. Green speaks of it as "a time when almost every other country in Europe was torn with Civil War."

He also speaks of it as "an age of political lying." Nevertheless, while one grants Bacon the intellectual power of observing things "commonly not observed but left to take their chance," and the patriotic purpose of endeavoring to "sow greatness" to the posterity and succession "of his country, one cannot find the policy other than narrow and devious."

Mr. Spedding, in speaking of Bacon's early life, gives as one of the three leading interests of that life, the cause of reformed religion. This subject he put first because when, at the age of 25. Bacon entered Parliament, Parliament was concerned with religious questions. It soon voted "the creation of a new tribunal for trial of conspirators against the Queen's life, and the enactment of new laws, more severe than ever, against priests and Jesuits." (Spedding) But while this enactment was adopted with unanimity, a second controversy, much bitterer, arose over the question of the government of the church and the proceedings of the bishops. This resulted in the success of the Queen over the Nonconformists. In this controversy, on the Nonconformist side. Bacon's mother was passionately interested. In one of her letters, she wrote: "I will not deny, but as I may hear them in their public exercises as a chief duty commanded by God to widows. and also I confess as one that hath found mercy, that I have profited more in the inward feeling knowledge of God his holy will, though but in a small measure by such sincere and sound

opening of the Scriptures by an ordinary preaching within these seven or eight years, than I did by hearing odd sermons at St. Paul's wellnigh twenty years together. I mention this unfeignedly the rather to excuse this my boldness towards your Lordship. humbly beseeching your Lordship to think upon their suit, and as God shall move your understanding heart to further it." Just how long Francis adhered to his mother's religion we do not know, but we suspect he probably never shared her enthusiasm, and we know that she was not always satisfied with his devotion, for in a letter to his brother Anthony advising prayer twice a day with his servants, occurs this sentence: "Your brother is too negligent therein." Francis was perhaps already out of harmony with his mother's faith, and was, as was his fashion with all things. looking at it in its various aspects, its benefits and its shortcomings. Dean Church thinks he revolted from Puritanism: "Bacon was obsequious to the tyranny of power, but he was never inclined to bow to the tyranny of opinion, and the tyranny of Puritan infallibility was the last thing to which he was likely to submit." At any rate, he finally adhered to the state church, and considered as one of his objects the promotion of that church. That church he considered one of the foundation stones of the state, and he was disturbed to see it endangered by division and desertion. Dean Church says: "The first subject on which Bacon exhibited his characteristic qualities, his appreciation of facts, his balance of thought, and his power, when not personally committed, of standing aloof from the ordinary prejudices and assumptions of



the crown of the addition is a sentency where is latter after FREE CITE CREATED TO THE CAPPER SOUTHER BOT STREET, "CREATED recent productions and buildings on admit describe and accommon ". States of the last on the delay of pales deal off the west lightering men around him, was the religious condition and prospects of the English church." In 1598, then, Bacon published his paper, "Controversies in the Church." The author assumed a neutral attitude between Puritan and Anglican, and attempted "to compose the controversy by pointing out the mistakes in judgment, in temper, and in method on both sides." (Church)

In the Essays, though Bacon's consideration has widened from a treatise on the quarrels of Puritans and Anglicans, religion, in the two essays definitely devoted to it, "Of Unity in Religion" and "Of the Vicissitudes of Things," is considered almost altogether in its public aspects. "Of Unity in Religion" begins: "Religion being the chief bond of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true bond of unity." That he had in mind the state church, a part of government, is apparant from that section of "Of Vicissitudes of Things" which deals with religion. "To speak, therefore, of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them," announces his purpose. "If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not spread: the one is the supplanting or the opposing of authority, for nothing is more popular than that." No turn of the subject escapes this application to the state, for he says in "Of Superstition", "Atheism did never perturb states", and "But superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new "primum mobile," that ravisheth all the spheres of government." That Bacon considered religion secondary to government is plain. In prohibiting

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"But we may not take up the third sword, which is Mohammed's sword, or like unto it: that is, to propagate religion by wars, or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases or overt scandal, blasphemy or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorize conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God."

Though, as Dr. Abbot says, "there is very little in the Essays corresponding to the important place assigned in the "De Augmentis" and "Advancement of Learning" to the Christian Faith, as imprinting Goodness and Charity on men's souls, and raising them to greater perfection than all the doctrines of morality can do," there are a few statements of the effects of religion on individuals. One learns: first, of the importance of religion to men--"The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men is the vicissitude of sects and religion. For those orbs rule in men's minds most"; second, that unity in religion brings peace, and peace in turn blesses man -- "As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity ---- third, faith enobles man -- They that deny a God destroys man's nobility; for certainly, man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature." and "So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine Protection and Favor, gathereth a force and faith, which human nature in itself could not obtain."

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Many affirmations of Bacon's own faith appear. God. mentioned frequently throughout the Essays, is mentioned in each of the prefaces. Perhaps it would be safe to say that quotations from. or allusions to, the Bible occur on every page. On the one hand, his faith was the result of reasoning-"I had rather believe all the fables in the legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind." -- "It is true that a little philosophy inclineth men's minds to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them and go no farther, but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity." -- and on the other hand, of acceptance. He believed in guardian angels; he believed in a fixed length of life. -- "Nor wish to die, but refer myself to my hour, which the great Dispenser of all things hath appointed me." In his certainty of immortality, he speaks in language that is poetical: "But see how I am swerved and lose my course, touching at the soul, that doth least hold action with death, who hath the surest property in this frail act; his style is the end of all flesh and the beginning of incorruption." -- "and is sowed again in his mother the earth, where he perisheth not, but expects a quickening." ("An Essay on Death")

Reasoning and acceptance! Do the qualities themselves exclude fervor? Judged by Bacon's faith, one would believe so. Surely he was never pursued by Francis's Thompson's Hound, nor comforted by Joyce Kilmer's crucified Christ. How free from

or allegations of a restricte company of the last the bare,  emotion he himself must have been, to think that, in others, faith or the lack of it, was the child of thought: "Nay, more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas, if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves?" So far, even as a mental conception, was self-sacrifice or religious ecstasy from Bacon's experience that he classed martyrdom as among the miracles: "For martyrdoms, I reckon them among miracles because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature; and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life." Bacon seems to imply what Emerson said,

"Yet not for all his faith can see Would I that cowled churchman be"

But Bacon would not have looked in the poets for any reflection of himself, though Dr. Abbot quotes a letter in which he refers to himself as a "concealed poet." Then, however, he was writing to the poet Davies and was asking a favor. So slighting are his references to poets and poetry that one is surprised to find that during the last period of his life, in 1624, he published the "Translation of certain Psalms into English verse," and in the one paragraph devoted to poetry in the "Advancement of Learning," he wrote: "For inasmuch as the material world is in proportion inferior to

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the soul, the imaginative faculty devises a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness, and a more absolute variety than can be found in the nature of things; whence it appears that poetry tends to magnanimity, morality, and to delectation." The "Translation" Dr. Abbot considers hardly poetry--"A true poet, even of a low order, could hardly betray so clearly the cramping influence of rhyme and metre. There is far less beauty of diction and phrase in these verse translations than in any of the prose works that are couched in an elevated style." In the Essays, however, one can find nothing absolutely laudatory, and some contempt. In "Of Truth," the word imagination and the word lie are synonymous, even though it must be added that the word lie with Bacon did not connote absolute perversion of the truth, but something inferior to it. There is contempt in the remarks about the religion of the heathers: "which consisted rather in rites and ceremonies than in any constant belief; for you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets." (3) Again we have a mixture of praise and withdrawal of it: "The poets make fame a monster. They describe her, in part, finely and elegantly: and, in part, gravely and sententiously," but later, he breaks off with, "But we are infected with the style of the poets. To speak now, in a sad and serious manner." Poetry is, after all, not the vehicle to convey matter of importance. The most that one gets from it is pleasure. Bacon would not have agreed to Emerson's affirmation:

the Translation pr. Chet considers burtly rectained of case, even of a low order, deals kinds with a 25 neve , dece the prope north that are complete in an elevated action seems of provided the religion of the sale of the control of the control The south of the state of the s or stead (c) ". of oor out thow strang whole to orange I has The a more of the description of the same as a second of the contract of the c

"Sunshine cannot bleach the snow,
Nor time unmake what poets know."

Those who charge Bacon with having "a placid nature, a cold and unimpassioned heart" must have received their impression from his essay on love. Never does he get so far away from ordinary humanity as in parts of this essay. However irreverent I may be, I cannot help comparing him to the Emperor Jones shooting his precious bullets at the fears created by his own mind. It took silver bullets to lay the Emperor low, and not even love could get within Bacon's shadow. Knowing that "it is impossible to love and to be wise," he remained a man of judgment still. This Essay would make love, that great theme of Dante, Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Goethe, inferior to business. Here follows "Loves Recommendation," by Francis Bacon. She is the child of Folly, and doeth much mischief, sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury. She findeth entrance into all hearts, even into that heart well fortified against her. She causeth lovers to become flatterers and speak in perpetual hyperbole. She is always repaid, either with love or with contempt. Her devotees quit both riches and wisdom, and he who cannot completely shut her out, should bind her within proper bounds.

Two other essays, "Of Parents and Children" and "Of Marriage and Single Life," which might be presumed to deal with love, never mention it at all. Though "Nuptial love" is indeed referred to in the essay "Of Love," the words are

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used only as part of an epigram, "Nuptial love maketh mankind."

In the essay on marriage Bacon weighs the pros and cons of marriage for men of different professions. From it, one gets, on the whole, the impression that, though "he that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune," marriage is a good thing for men. "Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses." Good wives exist, and a good way to keep a wife bound in chastity and obedience is to make her think her husband wise. Bacon, however, never concerns himself much with women, and thinks that "grave natures, led by custom and therefor constant, are commonly loving husbands."

I would not, however, agree with the critic who charged that
Bacon was "without tenderness," for I think that I see tenderness
in his references to children. With him, as is not the fashion
in our day, the parents, and not the children, are advised. The
advice is for the children's happiness and character. Parents
should treat all their children equally, they should be liberal
of their money to their children, they should not stir up emulation
between brothers, and they should choose professions for the
children. Wife and children soften hearts and create tenderness.
"Certainly, wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity;
and single men, though they be many times more charitable, because
their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other hand, they are more
cruel and hard hearted, (good to make severe inquisitors), because
their tenderness is not so oft called upon." (8) And surely, the

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writer of the following had felt, to some extent at least, the spell of children: "The joys of parents are secret; and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one; nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make misfortune more bitter: they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death."

Of Bacon's exposition on friendship, the last of the topics dealing with the emotions, many of Bacon's critics give adverse judgments. "As for friendship," says Dr. Abbot, "there is little of it in the world, and 'least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is is between superior and inferior, whose fortune may comprehend the one the other. " (48) "Of the 'Essay on Friendship, " says Gosse, "the note is disappointingly low. One learns far more of the advantages and commodities of friendship than of its divinity." Not completely are these judgments just. The whole essay from which Dr. Abbot quotes, "Of Followers and Friends," treats of friends only in the capacity of friends as followers in politics, in society. Dr. Abbot might have quoted off-setting statements from the other essay, "Of Friendship." Though Gosse is criticising this latter essay, if one chooses to remember that Bacon wrote this essay at the request of a friend, Toby Matthew, and was perhaps thinking of what friendship had advantaged him himself, the charge, though still true, might be mitigated.

At any rate, Bacon, though he could not comprehend love, did feel something of friendship. It is "friendly love that perfecteth" mankind. It is of friendship he is talking when

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of Bacon's elipolitics on Pricontil, the last of the Lepton designation "is for fraunching," this is, above, " tore is little and out only the tribe while come while out . Itself after hel world over the compactly of friends on collimate to policies, to correct. Dir. Abbot adamental o makron-vilo largery area of he routel . well against the per west the Toby Lighthew, and the passes convers, though still tent, might to mitheated.

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he says, "For a crowd is not company; and faces are but a gallery of pictures; and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love." "It is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness." Nor are the "fruits" of friendship all material. "After these two noble fruits of friendship, (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment,) followeth the last fruit, which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid, and bearing a part in all actions and occasions."

"It proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity but as a half-piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire," (27) makes one wonder what things brought felicity to Bacon. Would he "down to the seas again," as would Masefield? Did he know "a vale where" he "would go one day"? Would he have yelled where

"The hounds were gaining like spotted pards"?

What were his pleasures? One is inclined to think that they would not have included "troops of friends," that, as the quotation says, "a friend" would serve a special occasion.

One feels that they would not have included games. The references to them in the Essays are few and such as do not give an impression of any feeling for them on the author's part. Among the host of things a young traveller is told to see are "exercises of horsemanship; fencing; training of soldiers, and the like," (18) and among the needs that builders of estates sometimes forget is "want of places, at some near

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distance, for sports of hunting, hawking, and races." (44).

Again, "like as the diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the stone and reins; shooting for the lungs and breast; gentle walking for the stomach; riding for the head; and the like." In all these statements, however, sports are regarded merely as useful things. The only sport from which Bacon uses figures of speech is bowling, the errors in which point his moral: "Such men are fitter for practise than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley: turn them to new men and they have lost their aim." (22)

Nor does one find any indication of love of animals. No horse of "steel and velvet grace," no little dog,

"-- one eye shut

Held fast in dreamy slumber, but

The other open, ready for

His master coming through the door,"

is rhapsodized over in the Essays. Nor in his garden of thirty acres is provision made for deer park or kennels. The creatures mentioned are usually unpleasant: lazy drones that are driven from their hives, the serpent that does not become a dragon unless it has first swallowed a serpent, the flies and frogs that make garden pools unwholesome, the rats that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall, the fox that thrusts out the badger, who digged and made room for him. However, if there be no love expressed, there is a kindly regard for birds, the same kind of feeling which prompted Bacon in "Of Plantations" to

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urge "use savages justly," the same feeling which makes the charge of cruelty as a judge seem unnatural. In his garden he would have no aviaries, "except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope, and natural nesting." (46)

Was the play the thing that caught Bacon's fancy? The question is natural, for he lived in the golden age of the theater. The Essays do not answer clearly. Two references to plays are given, "Therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others," he says of "a man that is busy and inquisitive." (9) "But it is a greater blasphemy to personate God (assign a part in the drama to) and bring him in (on the stage) saying, I will descend and be like the Prince of Darkness" (3) is couched in language so obscure to us that we need interpretation to see its connection with the theatre. Judging by these meagre allusions, one would decide against Bacon's interest in the theatre. Indeed, the only thing that indicates an interest in the public theatre is the direction to the young traveler to visit "comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort." His "Devices" and his Masque for Lord Rochester's marriage were, of course, only for court and courtiers. Even the Essay "Of Masques and Triumphs" begins with an apology--"These things are but toys to come among such serious observations; but yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with

the round have no description, "and they be of the make and an all the state of the

elegancy than daubed with cost." Then, however, follow such excellent observations that one would expect Bacon to be a good stage manager and producer. He advocates changes of scene; aboundant, colored, and varied lights; pantomime to excite interest; loud, cheerful songs--"let the music like-wise be sharp and loud, and well placed." Truly, twentieth-century America is not so far-distant from seventeenth-century England as has been supposed! Though Bacon ends as he began, "But enough of these toys," one must conclude that the toys pleased him.

"God Almighty first planted a garden. And indeed it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which, buildings and palaces are but gross handy-works" is the most enthusiastic beginning of any in Bacon's fifty-eight essays, and it is in this essay alone that Bacon shows pure delight. His lines read like poetry, "trippingly on the tongue" -- "You must take such things as are green all winter: holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pines, fir-trees, rosemary, lavender; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; germander, flag, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved; and sweet-marjoram, warm set." In this essay, he is no longer the moralizer about beauty, but the observer -- "I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year; in which, severally, things of beauty may be then in season." In this essay, he is the man of sensation rather than of thought -- "And

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because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air."-"that which, above all others, yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, especially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April and about Barthol-omew-tide." So full of color, so full of scent, so full of pleasant sound, so full of practical detail is this essay that it makes Francis Bacon of kin to everybody.

In "Of Gardens" Bacon presents a garden, "prince-like -- not under thirty acres"; in "Of Building" he announces a perfect palace -- "First therefore. I say, you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the 'Book of Hester,' and a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling." Every suggestion implies magnificence "and all other elegancy that may be thought upon." Though Bacon intimates that his plans are for princes, one is forced to wonder about his way of living, how it consorted with the splendor depicted. Several stories establish his love of show and his liberal spending. "Bacon's curious love of pomp amused the gossips of the day. 'Sir Francis Bacon,' writes Carleton to Chamberlain, 'was married yesterday to his young wench, in Maribone Chapel. He was clad from top to toe in purple, and hath

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made himself and his wife such store of raiments of cloth of silver and gold that it draws deep into her portion. " (Church) Once when he was seeking an office, "he was so confident of the place that he put most of his men into new cloaks" (Church). For Lord Rochester he gave a sumptuous masque. "'Sir Francis Bacon', writes Chamberlain, 'prepares a masque to honor this marriage, which will stand him in above £2,000. \*\* (Abbot) When he was charged with bribery, he left London for Gorhambury in such state that Prince Charles, meeting him, said, "This man scorns to go out like a snuff." To a certain extent the Essays corroborate the idea of much spending. That money should be spent is expressed in various ways: "Riches are for spending " (28) -- "And money is like muck, not good except it be spread." (15) "Of Expense" gives such excellent advice about the saving of money by individuals that one wonders why Bacon did not profit by his own preaching. "Of Usury" concerns trade and was written for the benefit of the government. Bacon had studied money and wealth with his customary thoroughness, but his nature loved splendor, and Dixon says he was the only great English lawyer who died poor. One must quote against him his own epigram: "Nature is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished."

"But custom only doth alter and subdue nature," and perhaps one may discover excuse for Bacon's lack of nature in the extent and variety of those objects which filled his mind and occupied his days. One finds it almost impossible to exhaust the subjects

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to which he paid minute attention. He devotes a whole essay to a "Regimen of Health" and in other essays draws many comparisons to the state of the body." His statements are both general and specific. "Certainly, men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business, they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind" (11) shows the importance he attached to care of health, and to make a comparison he furnishes all this detail: "We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind: you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain, etc." (27)

One might forget Bacon's interest in "studies" were it not for the first two Prefaces and the essay, "Of Studies". This essay, however, is perhaps better known than any of the others. Like "Of Gardens" it begins enthusiastically, "Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability," and it is noticeable that Bacon puts delight first. Though in the Preface of the first edition Bacon writes, "sometimes I wish your infirmities translated upon myself, that her majesty might have the service of so active and able a mind; and I might be with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies, for which I am fittest," here one finds a change in attitude--"To spend too much time in studies is sloth" and "And for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business." No longer does Bacon desire to live by the book alone.

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Indeed he seems to have taken a part in every known enterprise, if not in action, in thought. Wondering at the definite specifications in "Of Plantations," one learns from Dixon that "at his personal risk and lose he aided to plant Virginia and Ulster." From the Preface to the third edition of the Essays, one learns he wrote a "History of Henry VII." Scattered references and the first part of "Of Vicissitude of Things" disclose his interest in "science," an interest displayed so completely in his larger works. In this Essay one sees his reluctance to make affirmation without reliable proof, and one gets a hint of his own habit of observation: "There is a toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part) that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers comes about again: as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like: and they call it the prime. It is a thing I do the rather mention. because computing backward, I have found some concurrence." (58) Though he asserts here that comets are not "wisely observed," he reflects many of the superstitions of his time: the belief in the influence of stars -- "the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere, or " (58); the belief in witchcraft--"As we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the

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cure of witcheraft: and that is, to remove the lot (as they call it) and to lay it upon another." (9)

"For which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves," which immediately follows the above quotation, brings to the fore in the reader's mind, the question of the kind of morality Bacon believes in and teaches. Dr. Abbot says of the Essays: "In order to enable men to be on their guard against Evil Arts, they teach men the knowledge of Evil Arts; and in extreme cases, where there is 'no remedy,' they occasionally allow the use of Evil Arts."

For the moment the question of the value of teaching men a knowledge of evil arts may be held in abeyance. Bacon himself tells us he finds nothing in the Essays "contrary or infectious to the state of religion or manners, but rather, as I suppose, medicinable." No one will dispute that many quotations may be brought forth that are clearly medicinable. "This (goodness) of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity: and without it man is a busy, mischievous, writched thing, no better than a kind of vermin."

Such a statement is medicinable as far as it goes. That is the theory. But "errors, indeed, in this virtue of goodness or charity, may be committed." Even God is made a party to this medicinable treatise—"The example of God teacheth the lesson truly: 'He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine upon the just and unjust; but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honor

on resident to the state of relitation or manage, and release, as - Local County County County of the County and County of the Land Coun ".eternic to being a midd receipt on ported or veryday." and a statement to appropriate as for an it come, that to the This or when a court of not care . The tribe of your principles many only on any old strains for their to statute out the

and virtues upon men equally." (13) The application is, of course, be not too good: see that you get all that should come to you. One can quote a hundred such examples: -- "But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession: that I hold more culpable, and less politic; except it be in great and rare matters" -- "The best composition and temperature is to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy." Does the combination of theoretic good with practical evil make the teaching of the Essays medicinable to religion and manners? Macaulay thought so. I cannot. It is such a combination that destroys all standards of right or wrong. Nor does Bacon confine his teaching to cases where "there be no remedy." He teaches the art of getting along in the world by using your neighbors in the assumption that most of them are stupid and therefore usable. "If you would work any man, you must either know his nature or fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have an interest in him, amd so govern him." Man needs no such teaching as this. Those to whom such knowledge would be useful already possess it. The last two methods have been used in political corruption since the beginning of time. But no teaching can be better than its source. Men do not need to be taught evil arts. I believe, as did Le Baron Briggs, with the old poet whom he quotes in his essay, "Transition from School to College":

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"Let no man say there, 'Virtue's flinty wall
Shall lock vice in me; I'll do none but know all:

Men are sponges, which, to pour out receive;

Who know false play, rather than lose, deceive;

For in best understandings sin began;

Angels sinned first, then devils, and then man."

The difference between Bacon and the old poet is that the poet calls sin, sin; Bacon says sin is not sin when it is synonymous with getting on in the world.

No one was ever more concerned with fame than was Bacon.

Not with the kind of fame of which Milton sang:

"Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,

Nor in the glistering foil

Set off to the world, nor in broad rumor lies,

But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes

And perfect witness of all-judging Jove;

As he pronounces lastly on each deed,

Bacon wanted the fame "set off to the world," and lying in "broad rumor." The reader first becomes aware of Bacon's attention to it in the Preface, in which he says that the Latin volume of the Essays "may last as long as books last." Worldly honor is synonymous with it, and vain glory a help to it. Its various aspects are presented in the Essays:

"Of Ceremonies and Respects," "Of Honor and Reputation," "Of Great Place," "Of Nobility," "Of Ambition," "Of Praise,"

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"Of Vain-Glory." It is dealt with at greatest length in "An Essay on Death." The first reference within the Essays is in the second, "Of Death": "Death hath this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy .--'When his light is quenched his memory will be loved.'" In however worldly a fashion, it is usually presented with beauty--"Certainly, fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swoln, and drowns things weighty and solid: but if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is, (as the Scripture said) 'A good name is like sweet-smelling ointment.' It filleth all round about, and will not easily away." (53) Its last expression fills one with pity--"There is nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die than the quisted conscience, strengthened with opinion that we shall be well spoken of upon earth by those that are just and of the family of virtue; the opposite whereof is a fury to man, and makes even life unsweet.

"Therefore what is more heavy than evil fame deserved?

Or, likewise, who can see worse days than he that, yet living,

doth follow at the funerals of his own reputation?

"I have laid up many hopes that I am privileged from that kind of mourning, and could wish the like peace to all of those with whom I wage love."

Alas: Remembering his great fall, one regrets that he could not have profited by the words of Gratiano:

"An Samey on Death." The three pulcetone willing the Voter it openeth the mits to sook fame, and estimutable to very . --"Then his light is quenched his mercey will be loved." concert worldly a lastion, it is usually promoted with countrysend 's good name in Like sweet-weetling oldregue.' It's " (68) ".gove thices for Illy but Junes have its divility consciones, attended with coinies that we shall be well of tirtue; the opposite thorself is a fact to cam, and relies even Life unimust.

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sould not have precited by the mords of Gratianu:

"You have too much respect upon the world.

They lose it that do buy it with much care."

That, buying the world, seems the predominating trait in the personality of the Francis Bacon of the Essays. But one cannot be sure. This personality is like a child baffling one from behind a tree. It will never come out completely. Sometimes it wears a wicked look, sometimes a pleasant smile. sometimes an expression of scorn, sometimes a mien of dignity, sometimes a pious air. Nevertheless, one returns to it, again and again, always hoping to get a definite unchanging impression. There is surely greatness and something that mars the greatness. There is in this Francis Bacon the greatness of vast vision, the greatness of large designs, the greatness of capacious memory, the greatness of untiring industry and long service. There is also in him a littleness that makes him observe all the petty meannesses of men, that makes him make men's motives seem cheaper than they are, that makes self-sacrifice and high spirituality incomprehensible to him. The word honor with him means only high place at a time "when" according to Green, "honor and enthusiasm took colors of poetic beauty and religion became a chivalry." To gain money and reputation in this world, to develop England into the greatest of nations, to be renowned

after death are the great ambitions stalking through the Essays,

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## CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE AND PRINCIPAL WORKS OF FRANCIS BACON

Father -	Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal
Mother -	Ann, second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke
1560-1	Birth, Jan. 22, York House
157,3	Entered Trinity College, Cambridge
1576	Admitted at Gray's Inn
1576-8	In France
1579	Death of Bacon's father
1584	M.P. for Melcombe Regis
1585	"Greatest Birth of Time" written
1586	Bencher of Gray's Inn
1000	M.P. for Taunton
1589	M.P. for Liverpool
1593	M.P. for Middlesex
1594	"Gesta Grayorum," a Device, performed at Gray's Inn
1595	Presented by Essex with an estate
	A Device written for Essex
1597	M.P. for Southampton
	"Essays," first edition, "Colours of Good and Evil,"
	"Meditations Sacrae"
1601	Prosecution of Essex
	Death of Bacon's brother Anthony
1603	Knighted by James 1
1605	"Advancement of Learning" published

Married Alice Barnham

1606

DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTY.

1607	Solicitor-General
1610	Death of Bacon's mother
1612	"Essays," second edition
1613	Attorney-General
1614	M.P. for Cambridge University
1616	Privy Councillor
1617	Lord Keeper
1617-8	Lord Chancellor
1618	Created Baron Verulam
1620	Created Viscount St. Alban
	"Novum Organum" published
1621	Charged with bribery, imprisoned in the Tower,
	and released.
	"History of Henry VII" published
1623	"De Augmentis" published
1624	"New Atlantis" and "Apophthegms" written
1625	"Essays," third edition
1616	Death, April 9

From "Bacon's Essays," edited by Alfred S. West, M.A.

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## Notes on the Three Editions

First Edition, 1597. With this edition of the "Essayes," two other works were bound up, viz. "Religious Meditations" and "Places of Perswasion and Disswasion." The "Religious Meditations" ("Meditationes Sacrae") were in Latin. The "Places of Perswasion and Disswasion" are otherwise called the "Coulers of Good and Evil." The volume contained ten Essays on the following subjects:

- 1. Study
- 2. Discourse
- 3. Ceremonies and Respects
- 4. Followers and Friends
- 5. Suitors
- 6. Expense
- 7. Regiment of Health
- 8. Honour and Reputation
- 9. Faction
- 10. Negociating

This edition was dedicated to Mr. Anthony Bacon.

Second Edition, 1612. This edition contained thirty-eight
Essays, twenty-nine of them new, and nine from the First Edition.
The Essay on "Honour and Reputation" was left out. Forty Essays
are enumerated in the Table of Contents, but the last two were not
printed, their subjects being dealt with in the thirty-eight Essay,
which treats of the "Greatness of Kingdoms." The Table of Contents
is as follows:

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1.	Religion	21.	Riches
2.	Death	22.	Ambition
3.	Goodness and	23.	Young Men and Age
	Goodness of Nature	24.	Beauty
4.	Cunning	25.	Deformity
5.	Marriage and Single-Life	26.	Nature in Men
6.	Parents and Children	27.	Custom and Education
7.	Nobility	28.	Fortune
8.	Great Place	29.	Studies
9.	Empire	30.	Ceremonies and Respects
10.	Counsel	31.	Suitors
11.	Dispatch	32.	Followers
12.	Love	33.	Negociating
13.	Friendship	34.	Faction
14.	Atheism	35.	Praise
15.	Superstition	36.	Judicature
16.	Wisdom for a Man's Self	37.	Vain Glory
17.	Regiment of Health	38.	Greatness of Kingdoms
18.	Expense	39.	The Public
19.	Discourse	40.	War and Peace
20.	Seeming Wise		

It was Bacon's intention to dedicate this edition to Henry, Prince of Wales. The Prince, however, died before the volume appeared, and a dedication to Bacon's brother-in-law, Sir John Constable, was substituted.

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Third Edition, 1625. It contained fifty-eight Essays, viz. the thirty-eight from the edition of 1612, the "Essay of Honour and Reputation," which had been omitted from that edition, and the following nineteen Essays which were new:

1.	Truth	24.	Innovations
4.	Revenge	31.	Suspicion
5.	Adversity	33.	Plantations
6.	Simulation and	35.	Prophecies
	Dissimulation	37.	Masks and Triumphs
9.	Envy	41.	Usury
12.	Boldness	45.	Building
15.	Seditions and Troubles	46.	Gardens
18.	Travel	57.	Anger
21.	Delays	58.	Vicissitude of Things

The volume is dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham.

The Fragment of an Essay "Of Fame" was discovered by Dr. Rawley amongst Bacon's papers, and was printed for the first time in 1657.

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